01393

1991/05/13

_			
đ Ŝ	WÉDIATE	HARITANA MARIANA	INCOMING E47A
3	RELEASED	IN PARTY	·
	B1,	Her BJ 13462 which has	
	PAGE 81 OF 84 BEIJIN 1.	fue 43 + 49	' 11 #25213 NOD388 -
	INFO: <u>\$\$ (10)</u> P (01)	SK	11 W23213 NUU388
	SUB: KIMMITT TALKS W/ E	13/06052 AZ 1CK IU HUAQIU: BILAT ISSUES	
	5 Xerry Coron Mores	. r	ufter (read here)"
	Diene 200	C(, PM-E	o Castell
	C" EAP-	Solomon" I'll ER:M	cAll rolar / Wecklinger dos
	- INR-M	ulho Clark " H- Me	lim Bern 12.
	1" NSC S	SECON AD	YES - NO
	CA	T' AODA ED.Lehman	
	DIST AUTH BY	READ BY	ISTRIBUTED BY
	EXSEC	(\$/\$-1)	
	DEPEXSEC	DATE/TI	
	REPEATED TO NEA(X-10) pe	n WRP/12mgm 5/17/91.5/	WP ferox perJSR/co.
	BY:	DATE/TI	ME /
		SENSITIVE	with the state of
	THE ATTACHED DOCUMENT MAY	. TO DESCRIPTION OF THE MARKET	SSEE AND, IF NOT E
	CONSIDERS TO HAVE A CLEAR	THOSE OFFICIALS UNDER HIS A R-CUT "NEED TO KNOW." IT MA	NY NOT BE € \$ \$ \$ \$
	REPRODUCED, GIVEN ADDITE	ONAL DISTRIBUTION, OR DISCU	ISSED WITH
	NON REGIFICATS MITHUUT P	RIOR APPROVAL OF THE EXECUT	IVE SECRETARIAT.
	ADDRESSEES OUTSIDE THE DI	EPARTMENT OF STATE SHOULD H	IANDLE THE DOCUMENT
	OF STATE INSTRUCTIONS ON	BOVE INSTRUCTIONS AND WITH NODIS.	
	WUEN TUIE BOOMENT IS NO	1.00000	OCT 2 4 1996
	FOR SUPERVISING ITS DEST	LONGER NEEDED, THE RECIPIE RUCTION AND FOR MAILING A R	NT IS RESPONSIBLE
	DESTRUCTION TO THE DIRECT	TOR, S/S-I, ROOM 7241, TEL.	632-2976.
		EXE	CUTIVE SECRETARY
	United States Department of State		ARTMENT OF STATE
	Office of FOi, Privacy, & Classification Review Review Authority: MILLER, ROBERT		FILE
	Date: 06/12/96 Case ID: 9301915A	******	

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLEASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 92 OF 94 BEIJIN 13790 91 OF 11 139559Z C10/11 925213 NOD388 ACTION NODS-98

INFO LOG-88 ADS-88 /888W

O 138535Z MAY 91 ZFF6
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5882

CAPTION REMOVED BY S/S (TY) ON 6/11/96

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SHAR, CH
SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:
BILATERAL ISSUES

1

SUMMARY: DURING LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER LIU HUAQIU ON MAY 5 AND 6, U/S KIMMITT ADDRESSED A NUMBER OF KEY PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-PROLIFERATION, AND THE TRADE DEFICIT. THE U/S POINTED OUT THAT, WHILE HE WAS NOT DRAWING A DIRECT LINKAGE, THE DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO EXTEND CHINA'S MEN STATUS WOULD INEVITABLY BE MADE AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN ADDRESSING THESE THREE PROBLEM AREAS. SPECIFICALLY, THE U/S ASKED FOR AGNESTY/LENIENCY FOR THOSE ARRESTED IN THE CRACKDOWN FOLLOWING THE BEIJING MASSACRE; COOPERATION FROM THE PRC ON PROLIFERATION MATTERS; AND A MEANINGFUL ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS THE TRADE DEFICIT. THE U/S STRESSED THAT HE WANTED TO SEE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP MOVED FORWARD, BUT THAT PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE ONLY IF BOTH SIDES TOOK STEPS WHICH MIGHT BE POLITICALLY DIFFICULT.

UNCLABSIFIED

INCOMING

BEIJIN 13799 81 OF 11 138559Z C18/11 825213 NOD388

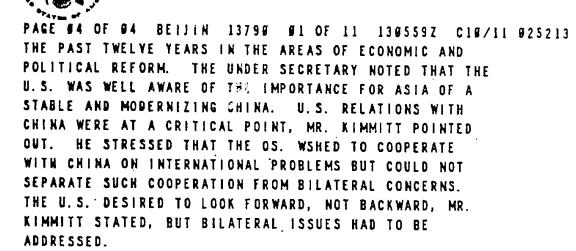
3.		
	END CHAMADA	

4. U/S KIMMITT MET WITH VFM LIU HUAQIU FOR A TOTAL OF NEARLY SEVEN HOURS ON MAY 5 AND 6. THIS CABLE DESCRIBES THEIR TALKS ON BILATERAL ISSUES. SEPTEL WILL REPORT ON THEIR DISCUSSIONS REGARDING VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

KIMMITT: SETTING THE SCENE

5. U/S KIMMITT BEGAN HIS DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL ISSUES BY NOTING THE EFFORT THAT CHINA HAD MADE OVER

UNCEASSIFIED



- 6. IN THIS REGARD, THE U/S CONTINUED, THE CHINESE SHOULD NOT LOOK UPON PROLIFERATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TRADE MATTERS AS MERELY BEING TOOLS WHICH THE U.S. WAS USING TO INFLUENCE CHINESE POLICY. RATHER, THESE WERE SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT HAD TO BE ADDRESSED. THE U.S. COULD NOT ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS UNILATERALLY AND NEEDED THE COOPERATION OF THE CHINESE SIDE.
- 7. THE U/S POINTED OUT THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE ON CHINAOMFN STATUS HAD BEGUN. IF THERE IS PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO PROLIFERATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRADE ISSUES, MFN STOOD A MUCH BETTER CHANCE OF BEING RENEWED. BOTH PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY



PAGE \$2 OF \$4 BEIJIN 1379\$ \$2 OF 11 138817Z C82/11 \$25333 NOD412 ACTION NODS-\$\$

INFO LOG-99 ADS-99 /999W

-----6539A1 13#819Z /38

O 13#535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5883

SECTION 02 OF 11 BEIJING 13790

NODIS

CORRECTED COPY (PARAS 8 AND 18)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

BAKER APPRECIATED THE STEPS THAT THE CHINESE HAD TAKEN TO DATE, BUT NEEDED MORE ASSISTANCE FROM THE PRC IN ORDER TO MOVE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP FORWARD, KIMMITT ADDED.

LIU: CHINESE STEPS

8. IN REPLY, LIU SAID THAT THE PRC ALSO ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH, HE ADDED, WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THE WHOLE WORLD. THE PRC HAD, THEREFORE, TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE U.S:

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

C#2/11 #25333 BEILIN 13798 82 OF 11 138817Z

NOD412

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE INCOMING UNCLASSIFIED PAGE 4 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #2 OF 11 13#8177 C#2/11 #25333

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

#2 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #3 OF 11 13#6##Z C11/11 #25214 NOD39#

INFO LOG-SS ADS-88 /888W

----652F98 13#6#1Z /38 0 138535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEILING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5884

SECTION #3 OF 11 BEIJING 1379#

NODIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAOIU:

KIMMITT: THE MECHANICS OF MEN

13. UNDER SECRETARY KIMMITT REITERATED THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS AT A CRITICAL STAGE. SIDES NEEDED TO TAKE STEPS THAT WERE DIFFICULT POLITICALLY. THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED THAT IT WAS NOW LESS THAN A MONTH BEFORE THE PRESIDENT HAD TO



PAGE #3 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #3 OF 11 13#6##Z C11/11 #25214 NOD39# MAKE A DECISION REGARDING THE EXTENSION OF MFN. IF THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO EXTEND, IT WOULD BE A VERY DIFFICULT FIGHT WITH THE CONGRESS.

14. THE UNDER SECRETARY CONTINUED BY NOTING THAT PRESIDENT BUSH HAD SAID ONLY LAST WEEK THAT HE WANTED GOOD RELATIONS, INCLUDING GOOD TRADE RELATIONS, WITH THE U.S. WAS WELL AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MFN FOR BOTH BILATERAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL, AND TRADE RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR, AS WELL AS FOR THE FUTURE OF HONG KONG. TURNING TO THE MECHANICS OF MFN, THE U/S NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD UNTIL JUNE 3 TO MAKE HIS DECISION. UNDER THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT, EXTENSION OF MFN WAS BASED UPON FREEDOM OF CONGRESS HAD BROADENED THIS SPECIFIC EMIGRATION. REQUIREMENT TO INCLUDE A WIDE VARIETY OF HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. THE U/S NOTED THAT CONGRESS WAS NOT REQUIRED BY LAW TO GIVE ANY SPECIFIC REASONS IF IT CHOSE TO REFUSE EXTENSION OF MFN; THE HILL WOULD CERTAINLY TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION A WIDE VARIETY OF QUESTIONS IF THE PRESIDENT WERE TO EXTEND CHINA'S MEN STATUS.

U/S KIMMITT NOTED THAT CONGRESS ADJOURNED BEFORE TAKING FINAL ACTION ON THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO EXTEND MFN IN 1998. NEW LEGISLATION MADE SUCH A TURN OF EVENTS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THIS YEAR. FAST TRACK PROVISIONS PROHIBITED PARLIAMENTARY DELAYS AND AMENDMENTS. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD FACE SEVERE PROBLEMS ; ITH THE CONGRESS, IF THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO EXTEND MEN, THE U/S REITERATED; PROSPECTS FOR NON-CONDITIONED EXTENSION OF MFN WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED BY PROGRESS IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, NON-PROLIFERATION, AND TRADE. WHILE HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT DRAWING ANY FORMAL LINKAGE, MR. KIMMITT STATED THAT THE POLITICAL DECISION ON MFN WOULD INEVITABLY BE MADE AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

BEIJIN 13798 83 OF 11 138688Z C11/11 825214 NOD398 CHINA'S ACTIONS ON THESE THREE ISSUES.

PROLIFERATION

16. TURNING TO SPECIFIC AREAS OF CONCERN, THE U/S NOTED THAT NON-PROLIFERATION HAD BECOME AN ISSUE OF GLOBAL PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING SADDAM HUSSEIN'S USE OF SCUD MISSILES DURING THE GULF WAR. MR. KIMMITT STATED THAT NON-PROLIFERATION WOULD BE ONE OF THE KEY TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION DURING THE UPCOMING LONDON G-7 SUMMIT AND STRESSED THAT THE U.S. WISHED TO SEE CHINA BECOME INVOLVED IN A MULTILATERAL EFFORT TO ADDRESS THE PROLIFERATION PROBLEM. ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH U/S BARTHOLOMEW WOULD BE VISITING CHINA, PROBABLY IN JUNE, TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILS ON THE PROLIFERATION PROBLEMS, HE WOULD LIKE TO GO OVER SOME BROAD AREAS OF CONCERN WITH LIU.

L! PE	NG A	ND DE	NG XIAOP	OT TON DRIP	EXPORT MEDI	
WI 221	152	WERE	IMPORTAN	T AND		

IMMEDIATE UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE #2 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #4 OF 11 13#6#3Z C1#/11 #25217 NOD393 ACTION NODS-##

INFO LOG-88 ADS-88 /888W

----652FC4 130603Z /38

O 130535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5885

CTION #4 OF 11 BEIJING 1379#

MODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH
SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

CHINA HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE FORMULATION OF THOSE GUIDELINES, NOR HAD IT JOINED THE MTCR, THE U/S ADMITTED; THEREFORE, THE U.S. PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED CHINESE ASSURANCES THAT THE PRC WOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WHEN LOOKING AT POSSIBLE MISSILE EXPORTS.

18. THE ISSUE AT HAND WAS NOT LEGAL INTERPRETATIONS BUT RATHER THE POLITICAL WILL TO ADDRESS CONCRETE PROBLEMS, THE U/S CONTINUED. MANY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE THAT HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE FORMATION OF MTCR, RESPECTED THE GUIDELINES IN ORDER TO PRESERVE INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. THE U.S. WOULD PREFER THAT CHINA JOIN THE MTCR, BUT IF NOT, AT LEAST HONOR THE GUIDELINES IN ORDER TO FURTHER OUR MUTUAL GOAL OF STEMMING DANGEROUS PROLIFERATION, THE U/S SAID. IF CHINA SAID IT WOULD OBSERVE THE CONSENSUS, OUR SHARED GOALS WOULD BE ADVANCED DECISISVELY. THE U/S POINTED OUT THAT NEW LEGISLATION REQUIRED



PAGE 93 OF 84 BEIJIN 13798 84-OF 11 138683Z C18/11 825217 NOD393 SANCTIONS AGAINST COUNTRIES WHICH VIOLATE MTCR GUIDELINES. HE STRESSED THAT THIS NEW LEGISLATION WAS NOT CHINA SPECIFIC AND ADDED THAT WE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED ITS POSSIBLE RAMIFICATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

19. THE U.S. HAD NOTED THE PRC'S STATEMENTS DENYING PLANS TO EXPORT MISSILES TO THE MIDDLE EAST OTHER THAN THE CSS-2S WHICH CHINA HAD PROVIDED SAUDI ARABIA IN 1987, U/S KIMMITT STATED.

THE U/S NOTED THAT RECENT PRESS REPORTS
IN THE U.S. HAD FUELLED SPECULATION ABOUT POSSIBLE
CHINESE ATTEMPTS TO SELL MISSILES TO SYRIA, A TOPIC
WHICH WE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH THE PRC. THE
U.S. WAS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT EXPORTS TO LIBYA AND
POSSIBLE TRANSFER BY LIBYA OF MISSILES AND OTHER
WEAPONS TO IRAQ.

28. THE U/S SAID THAT U/S BARTHOLOMEW WOULD CONTINUE PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE ON MUTUAL EFFORTS TO CONTROL CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND CHEMICAL PRECURSORS. MR. KIMMITT NOTED THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO HELP CHINA DEVELOP EFFECTIVE INTERNAL CONTROLS OVER EXPORTS IN THIS FIELDS. THE U.S. SOUGHT TO BUILD ON SUCCESSES IN THIS AREA OF COOPERATION AND EXPAND IT TO OTHER PROLIFERATION CONCERNS.

21. WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, THE U/S SAID THAT THE U.S. APPRECIATED THE MFA'S APRIL 38 PUBLIC STATEMENT CLARIFYING CHINA'S NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA.

IMMEDIATE PAGE VA

UNCL ASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 04 OF 04 BEIJIN 13790 04 OF 11 1306037 C10/11 025217 NOD393

MOREOVER, MR. KIMMITT CONTINUED, THE U.S. HOPED THAT CHINA WOULD CONSIDER JOINING THE NPT AND RESPECT INTERNATIONALLY

RECOGNIZED NUCLEAR-SUPPLIER GUIDELINES.

22. U/S KIMMITT NOTED THAT BOTH CHINA AND THE U.S. DESIRED PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA. RECENTLY THE TENSIONS OVER KASHMIR HAD UNDERLINED THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN THAT REGION. MR. KIMMITT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT CHINA WOULD JOIN THE U.S. IN ATTEMPTING TO DEFUSE TENSIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA. HE STRESSED THAT THE U.S. HAD NO BLUEPRINT FOR ADDRESSING THE PROLIFERATION PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH ASIAN REGION. KIMMITT NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSAFIED

INCOMING

PAGE #2 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #5 OF 11 13#6#27 C11/11 #25215 NOD391 ACTION NODS-##

INFO LOG-98 ADS-99 /998W

-----652FA6 138682Z /38

O 130535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5886

ECTION 05 OF 11 BEIJING 13790

NODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

SECRETARY BAKER AND FOREIGN MINISTER GIAN HAD DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF CHINA, THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION JOINING WITH THE TWO SOUTH ASIAN PRINCIPALS FOR FIVE-COUNTRY TALKS.

23. THE U/S STATED THAT U/S BARTHOLOMEW WOULD DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF FIVE-COUNTRY TALKS FURTHER WHEN HE VISITED BEIJING.

24. MR. KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR PROGRAM HAD CAUSED MAJOR PROBLEMS FOR THE U.S. THE U.S. HAD A LONG HISTORY OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN AND HAD COOPERATED WITH THE PAKISTANIS ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN.

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 03 OF 04 BEIJIN 13790 05 OF 11 1306027 C11/11 025215 NOD391 BECAUSE OF THE PAKISTANI NUCLEAR PROGRAM, THE U.S. HAD BEEN FORCED TO SUSPEND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF ASSISTANCE FOR THE GOP. THE U.S. WAS WORKING WITH THE PAKISTANIS TO CORRECT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ORDER TO PROMOTE NOT ONLY U.S.-PAKISTANI RELATIONS BUT STABILITY IN THE REGION. THE U.S. THEREFORE SOUGHT CHINA'S ASSISTANCE ON BOTH A BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL BASIS IN ADDRESSING THIS

PROBLEM.			

THE CHINESE RESPONSE ON PROLIFERATION

25. IN RESPONSE, LIU NOTED THAT CHINA HAD ALWAYS ADOPTED A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE REGARDING NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES. CHINA ENDORSED THE COMPLETE PROHIBITION AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL CHEMICAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BEFORE REACHING THIS GOAL, CHINA ADVOCATED APPROPRIATE AND IMPARTIAL MEASURES TO LIMIT THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS AND MISSILES. THE PRC HELD THAT PRIOR TO THE CONCLUSION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL TREATY ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS THOSE STATES WHICH POSSESS SUCH WEAPONS SHOULD DECLARE THAT THEY WOULD NEITHER USE, PRODUCE, STOCKPILE, NOR TRADE IN LIU SAID THAT THE PRC DID NOT POSSESS CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND EXERTED STRICT CONTROL OVER CHEMICAL EXPORTS. CHINA SUPPORTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. CHINA HAD ALSO SIGNED THE SEA-BED TREATY. PRC MISSILE EXPORTS WERE GUIDED BY THREE PRINCIPLES: THEY MUST BE FOR LEGITIMATE SELF DEFENSE OF A GIVEN COUNTRY, THEY MUST NOT UNDERMINE THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF THE REGION,

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 84 OF 84 BEIJIN 13798 85 OF 11 138682Z C11/11 825215 NOD391
AND THEY MUST NOT PROMOTE INTERFERENCE IN A THIRD
COUNTRY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

27. LIU NOTED THAT CHINA CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN THAT ALL CHEMICAL WEAPONS STOCKPILES SHOULD BE DESTROYED.

UNCLASSIFIED



PAGE #2 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #6 OF 11 138729Z C#2/11 825322 NOD411 ACTION NODS-##

INFO LOG-09 ADS-09 /000W

----65372F 138754Z /38

O 138535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5887

SECTION 06 OF 11 BEIJING 13790

NODIS

CORRECTEBCOPY (PARA 31)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

HE FURTHER NOTED THAT CHINA NEITHER POSSESSED.

MANUFACTURED, NOR TRADED IN CHEMICAL WEAPONS OR THEIR PRECURSORS. CHINA HAD ADOPTED A PRUDENT ATTITUDE ON CHEMICAL EXPORTS, LIU MAINTAINED. CHINA HAD ALREADY ADHERED TO EXPORT GUIDELINES ON CHEMICAL WEAPON PRECURSORS AND HAD INSTITUTED A TOUGH EXPORT LICENSING SYSTEM. CHINA WOULD CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE STRICT CONTROLS AND IN THE MEANTIME WOULD HOPE THAT UNWARRANTED CONCERNS OVER CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION WOULD NOT INHIBIT LEGITIMATE COOPERATION IN THE CHEMICAL FIELD BETWEEN CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES, LIU STATED.

28. TURNING TO SOUTH ASIA, LIU ASSERTED THAT CHINA WAS IN FAVOR OF REGIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION ARRANGEMENTS, NOTING THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS NOT ONLY PREVENTED NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION BUT ALSO ENCOURAGED COOPERATION AMONG STATES. CHINA STOOD FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES ON THE BASIS OF

UNCLASSIFIED

SNOD

NOD D

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSATIED

INCOMING

PAGE 13 OF 84 BEIJIN 13798 86 OF 11 1387292 C82/11 825322 NOD411 VOLUNTARY TALKS. THE NUCLEAR POWERS SHOULD RESPECT SUCH NFZ'S AND GUARANTEE NOT TO USE THEIR NUCLEAR ARSEMALS AGAINST THE NATIONS BELONGING TO SUCH ZONES. LIU POINTED OUT THAT AS A NEIGHBOR OF THE SOUTH ASIA REGION, CHINA FOLLOWED THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR COMPETITION BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA CLOSELY. CHINA FELT STRONGLY THAT IT WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST TO SEE THE TWO SOUTH ASIAN STATES ATTEMPT TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

30. LIU STATED THAT IF THE OTHER PARTIES MENTIONED BY UNDER SECRETARY KIMMITT ALSO AGREED, CHINA WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM PARTICIPATING IN FIVE PARTY CONSULTATIONS ON THE SOUTH ASIA PROBLEM. LIU FELT THAT THE PARTIES CONCERNED SHOULD ALL CONSULT WITH ONE ANOTHER.

UNCLASSIFIED

ı	NÝ/	ED	IĄ	ŢΕ	
	į	13	Ü),	<u> </u>
			清		, ,

UNCLASSFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 64 DF 64 BEIJIN 13790 06 OF 11 1307297 C02/11 025322 NOD411 I MMED LA JE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 02 OF 94 BEIJIN 13462 97 OF 11 090908Z C01/85 02064B NOD304 ACTION NODS-80

INFO LOG-88 ADS-88 /888W

O 9988452 MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5625

SECTION 07 OF 11 BEIJING 13462

NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR U/S KIMMITT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL. PARM. MNUC. PHUM. CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUADIU:

ENDING WITH A DIG AT THE SUPERPOWERS. LIU QUOTED A CHINESE PROVERB: "THE COUNTY MAGISTRATE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BURN DOWN THE HOUSE WHILE THE COMMON PEOPLE CANNOT EVEN LIGHT A LAMP."

HUMAN RIGHTS

33. U/S KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN CHINA AND THE U.S. WAS HUMAN RIGHTS. MR. KIMMITT STRESSED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WAS NOT AN ISSUE ONLY BETWEEN THE PRC AND U.S. BUT ONE WHICH THE U.S. FELT COMPELLED TO RAISE WITH A NUMBER OF ITS PARTNERS.

MR

KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WERE THE



PAGE 83 OF 84 BEIJIN 13462 87 OF 11 898988Z C81/85 828648 NOD394 CORNERSTONE OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THAT AMERICA'S CLOSEST BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WERE WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH SHARED A MUTUAL RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS ON THIS ISSUE.

- 34. U/S KIMMITT STATED THAT THE U.S. HAD NO DESIRE TO INTERFERE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. BUT FELT COMPELLED TO RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS SINCE THEY AFFECTED THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. EVEN BEFORE 1989. CHINA AND THE U.S. HAD DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS. POINTED OUT DIFFERENCES IN EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS. AND AGREED TO WORK WITH EACH OTHER TO RESOLVE THESE DIFFERENCES. THE U/S ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRC HAD TAKEN A NUMBER OF POSITIVE STEPS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT. INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF HAN DONGFANG AND THE RESTORATION OF THE BILATERAL DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OUESTIONS.
- 35. HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN CHINA WOULD HEAVILY INFLUENCE ANY DISCUSSION OF MFN IN CONGRESS. MR. KIMMITT CONTINUED. THUS, IN APRIL THE U.S. EMBASSY HAD RAISED WITH PRC SEVERAL SPECIFIC CASES WHICH WERE OF CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST. THE U.S. WAS STILL WAITING FOR A RESPONSE FROM THE CHINESE SIDE. MR. KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT THE EARLIER A RESPONSE WAS RECEIVED THE GREATER EFFECT IT WOULD HAVE POLITICALLY.
- 36. WITH RESPECT TO EMIGRATION, THE UNDER SECRETARY CONTINUED, THE U.S. CONGRESS HAD SINGLED OUT SEVERAL CATEGORIES OF INDIVIDUALS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. THESE INCLUDED FAMILIES OF PRC STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS RESIDENT IN THE U.S. AND RELIGIOUS SEMINARIANS WISHING TO STUDY IN THE U.S. MR. KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT DENIAL OF PASSPORTS TO SUCH INDIVIDUALS BY THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES COULD WELL HAVE A DIRECT EFFECT ON MFN UNDER THE JACKSON-VANIK

PAGE 04 OF 04 BE111N 13462 87 OF 11 898988Z C01/05 028648 NOD384 AMENDMENT.

- 37. U/S KIMMITT STATED THAT THE U.S. APPRECIATED THAT SOME OF THE SENTENCES HANDED DOWN BY CHINESE COURTS TO DISSIDENTS RECENTLY WERE NOT AS SEVERE AS THOSE IN THE PAST. HEYERTHELESS. HE POINTED OUT. CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT FOR NON-VIOLENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY WAS A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL NORMS. MR. XIMMITT ADDED THAT THREE CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE DETAINED IN THE CRACKDOWN FOLLOWING THE TIANANMEN DEMONSTRATIONS WERE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THE U.S.:
- -- PEOPLE CONVICTED AND SERVING SENTENCES FOR NON-YIOLENT ACTIVITY DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS. MR. KIMMITT NOTED THAT THE LENGTHY SENTENCES IMPOSED ON SOME OF THESE INDIVIDUALS HAD CREATED A SEVERELY NEGATIVE IMPRESSION IN THE U.S. AND CONTINUED TO BE A MAJOR IRRITANT IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS. MR. KIMMITT SAID THAT THE U.S. WAS SPECIFICALLY REQUESTING CLEMENCY FOR THESE INDIVIDUALS OR COMMUTATION OF THEIR SENTENCES FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR.
- -- PEOPLE CURRENTLY UNDER JUDICIAL REVIEW FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTIVITY. MR. KIMMITT STATED THAT THE U.S. SPECIF-ICALLY REQUESTED LENIENCY OR AMNESTY FOR THESE INDIVIDUALS.
- -- THOSE INDIVIDUALS UNDER DETENTION FOR ACTIVITY

INCHEDIATE

Seaton 8 E 9 UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE 62 OF 84 BEIJIN 13798 88 OF 11 198612Z C11/11 886827 NODS43

INFO LOG-SS ADS-SS /SSSW

-----67EB9F 19#612Z /38

O 138535Z MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5889

ECTION #8 OF 11 BEIJING 1379#

NODIS

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

THOSE INDIVIDUALS UNDER DETENTION FOR ACTIVITY DURING THE 1989 DEMONSTRATIONS BUT NOT YET BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURT SYSTEM MR. KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT AS OF JUNE 1998, ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL CHINESE STATISTICS THERE WERE 355 INDIVIDUALS STILL UNDER DETENTION, BUT NOT YET BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS. SUBSEQUENTLY THE CASES OF 188 OF THOSE HAD BEEN RESOLVED, LEAVING 255 UNRESOLVED. U/S KIMMITT SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD APPRECIATE AN IMMEDIATE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RELEASE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE UNDER SECRETARY SAID.

38. MR. KIMMITT NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD NOT YET RECEIVED ANY RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY A/S SCHIFTER DURING HIS VISIT TO BEIJING. THE U/S POINTED OUT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD FREQUENTLY CITED THE SCHIFTER VISIT AS AN EXAMPLE OF PROGRESS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS DIALOGUE WITH CHINA; IF NO ANSWERS

....



PAGE 03 OF 04 BEIJIN 13790 08 OF 11 198612Z C11/11 006027 NOD543 TO MR. SCHIFTER'S QUESTIONS WERE FORTHCOMING THE ADMINISTRATION'S ARGUMENT IN THIS REGARD WOULD BE UNDERCUT.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

39. MR. KIMMITT STATED THAT NUMEROUS CREDIBLE REPORTS INDICATED THAT THE PRC WAS RESTRICTING LEGITIMATE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY. AT LEAST 30 CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND LAYMEN HAD BEEN ARRESTED IN 1998 AND 68 CATHOLIC CHURCHES CLOSED DOWN. PROTESTANTS ALSO WERE BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST. U/S KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES BY THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES WERE IN VIOLATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND PROBABLY IN VIOLATION OF THE PRC'S CONSTITUTION- MR. KIMMITT STATED THAT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS AND PREDICTED THAT RELIGIOUS ISSUES WOULD BE AMONG THE MOST EMOTIONAL DURING ANY DEBATE ON EXTENSION OF CHINA'S MFH STATUS. INDEED, MANY CONGRESSMEN HAD ALREADY INDICATED THAT THEIR VOTE ON THE MFM ISSUE WOULD DEPEND ON CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE LIST OF 77 IMPRISONED RELIGIOUS LEADERS PRESENTED BY CONGRESSMEN SMITH AND WOLF DURING THEIR VISIT TO BEIJING.

48. MR. KIMMITT NOTED THAT DURING THE WELCOMING DINNER ON MAY 5, VFM LIU HAD STATED THAT CHINA WOULD ENFORCE A "STRICT BAN ON EXPORTS OF PRODUCTS MADE IN PRISONS." THE U/S STATED THAT A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT AND STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF SUCH A BAN WOULD HAVE A SALUTORY EFFECT ON SINO-U.S. RELATIONS.

THE CHINESE RESPONSE ON HUMAN RIGHTS:

41. YFM LIU REPLIED THAT, GIVEN THE TWO COUNTRIES'

NOD543

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

BEIJIN 13790 98 OF 11 198612Z C11/11 886827 SYSTEMS AND VALUES, IT HAS INEVITABLE THAT AND THE U.S. WOULD HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS ON LIU ASSERTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN HUMAN RIGHTS. MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS INSIDE CHINA IN THE 40 YEARS SINCE LIBERATION. REGARDED THE RIGHT OF SURVIVAL AS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF HUMAN RIGHTS; THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AS THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT; AND THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS THE THIRD, LIU SAID. 1949, THE PRC HAD REVERSED THE PREVIOUS SITUATION. WHERE THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAD NOT ENOUGH TO EAT OR THERE HAD BEEN A MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE CHINESE. THE PRC HAD PROTECTED THE INDEPENDENCE OF CHINA AND ALLOWED 1.1 BILLION PEOPLE TO BECOME MASTERS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

42. LIU ASSERTED THAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE ENJOYED FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND STATED THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS DEPENDENT ON THE STABILITY OF THE COUNTRY. HE THEREFORE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE U.S. WOULD ACT ACCORDING TO MR. KIMMITT'S PREVIOUS STATEMENTS AND NOT USE HUMAN RIGHTS TO INTERFERE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. LIU FURTHER NOTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS COULD ONLY BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH A COUNTRY'S DOMESTIC LAWS. HE POINTED OUT THE U.S. ITSELF HAD FAILED TO RATIFY A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DOCUMENTS WHICH IT CONSIDERED TO BE IN CONFLICT WITH AMERICAN LAW.

IMAEDIATE

UNCLASSAFIED

INCOMING

PAGE #2 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #9 OF 11 19#612Z C11/11 ##6#28 NOD544 ACTION NODS-##

INFO LOG-88 ADS-88 /888W

----67EBA7 19#613Z /38

O 13#5357 MAY 91 ZFF6 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 589#

CTION #9 OF 11 BEIJING 1379#

NODIS

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, PHUM, SNAR, CH SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

EMIGRATION

43. WITH RESPECT TO EMIGRATION, LIU CLAIMED THAT THE PROBLEM WAS NOT THAT THE PRC WAS UNWILLING TO ALLOW ENOUGH CHINESE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. RATHER, HE CLAIMED, OTHER COUNTRIES WERE UNWILLING TO LET LARGE NUMBERS OF CHINESE IN. HE SAID THAT CHINA WOULD BE WILLING TO ALLOW 20 MILLION CHINESE TO EMIGRATE TO THE U.S. IF THE USG WERE WILLING TO TAKE THEM.

44. LIU STATED THAT THERE WERE NO RESTRICTIONS ON THE RELATIVES OF ANY CHINESE LIVING IN THE U.S. GOING THERE TO YISIT. THEY COULD APPLY FOR PASSPORTS AND THEIR APPLICATIONS WOULD "BE APPROVED IN DUE PROCESS." "MY PERSONAL FEELING IS THAT THEY WILL BE ALLOWED TO GO" LIU SAID. HE POINTED OUT THAT THOSE WISHING TO LEAVE WOULD FIRST HAVE TO CLEAR UP ALL THEIR AFFAIRS INSIDE CHINA, INCLUDING DEBTS. LIU



PAGE #3 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #9 OF 11 19#612Z C11/11 ##6#28 NOD544 NOTED THAT CHINESE STUDYING ABROAD WERE FREE TO RETURN TO CHINA AND EXIT ONCE MORE. SOME TWO TO THREE THOUSAND HAD RETURNED TO CHINA FROM THE U.S. SINCE JUNE 4, 1989, AND HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO LATER RETURN TO THE U.S.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

45. IN DISCUSSING THE CRACKDOWN, LIU INSISTED THAT THERE WERE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CHINA. HE MAINTAINED THAT ALL THOSE ARRESTED AFTER THE "TURMOIL" HAD BEEN INCARCERATED FOR VIOLATING CRIMINAL LAW. MOST HAD ALREADY BEEN TRIED; THE CASES OF ONLY A TINY HANDFUL WERE STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION. LIU AGREED THAT THE SENTENCES HANDED DOWN TO THOSE CONVICTED HAD BEEN LENIENT. HE ASSERTED THAT THE TRIALS HAD ALL BEEN HANDLED BY THE JUDICIARY. WITH NO INTERFERENCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

46. LIU STATED THAT THE CASES OF MOST OF THE 25# WHOM MR. KIMMITT CLAIMED HAD NOT YET BEEN TRIED HAD IN FACT ALREADY BEEN DISPOSED OF. ONLY A FEW OF THE MOST COMPLICATED CASES -- SOME OF WHICH INVOLVED STATE SECRETS -- HAD NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED. MOREOVER, IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE THE "TURMOIL" MOST CASES INVOLVING INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED DURING THE CRACKDOWN HAD BEEN RESOLVED AND THE MAJORITY OF INDIVIDUALS WAD BEEN RELEASED. ONLY A HANDFUL HAD BEEN SENTENCED FOR THEIR CRIMES AND ALL THEIR SENTENCES HAD BEEN LENIENT, LIU MAINTAINED. SIMILARLY, WHEN THE U/S ASKED FOR AMNESTY FOR WEI JINGSHENG, VFM LIU REPLIED THAT WEI HAD BEEN CONVICTED OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND THAT, IN ANY EVENT, HIS SENTENCE WAS ALMOST OVER.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

I'MMEDIATE

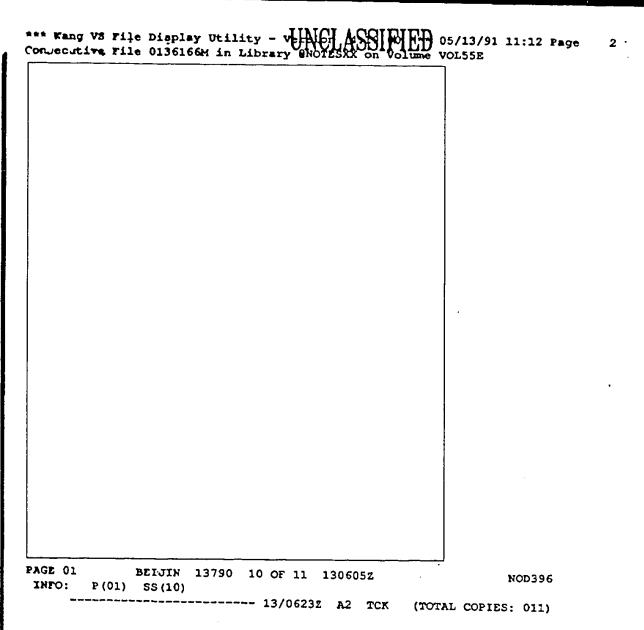
UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

PAGE #4 OF #4 BEIJIN 1379# #9 OF 11 19#612Z C11/11 ##6#28 NOD544

- 47. LIU STATED THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WOULD "TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION" THE REQUESTS RAISED BY A/S SCHIFTER DURING HIS VISIT. LIU STRESSED THAT THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION GUARANTEED RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. THEREFORE, IF ANY OF THE 77 INDIVIDUALS NAMED ON THE LIST PRESENTED BY CONGRESSMEN WOLF AND SMITH HAD BEEN ARRESTED, THEY DOUBTLESS HAD BEEN ARRESTED FOR VIOLATING THE LAW AND NOT FOR PRACTICING THEIR RELIGION. LIU ADDED THAT THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAD INVESTIGATED THE NAMES ON THE LIST AND HAD DIVIDED THE INDIVIDUALS INTO FOUR CATEGORIES:
- -- OLD PEOPLE ON PENSIONS.
- -- RECIDIVISTS WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN ARRESTED ON OTHER CHARGES.
- -- INDIVIDUALS WHO COULD NOT BE LOCATED, IN MOST CASES BECAUSE ONLY THEIR SURNAMES WERE GIVEN (ABOUT 20 INDIVIDUALS FELL INTO THIS CATEGORY ACCORDING TO LIU).
- -- A FEW WHO WERE STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR

** Wang VS File Display Utility - VEHER ASCHIUM 05/13/91 11:12 Page 1 Consecutive File 0136166M in Library entracts by Vol55E					
Bio	### ##################################	U/S KIMMIT	T'S MEETING	SS WI	
	VIOLATING THE CRIMINAL LAW.				
	THUS, LIU CONCLUDED, NONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS ON THE LIST OF 77 HAD BEEN ARRESTED FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.				
			•		
			•		
				•	
	TRADE MATTERS				
Γ		7			
1		1			



EXSEC Depensec

(S/S-I)
DATE/TIME

200 Mang VS File Display Utility - TIMES ACCURATE 05/13/91 11:12 Page Consecutive File 0136167M in Library enormal Delivery VOL55E

MOD3974BEIJIN13790 130535 HAY 91

U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WI

SUBJECT: U/S KIMMITT'S MEETINGS WITH LIU HUAQIU:

IN CLOSING

53. THE U/S REPLIED THAT HE HAD COME TO CHINA NOT TO SEE A RETROGRESSION IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, BUT RATHER PROGRESS. HE HOPED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD NOT JUST SURVIVE, BUT PROSPER. MR. KIMMITT POINTED OUT THAT AS THE DEBATE OVER EXTENSION OF MFN INTENSIFIED BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE LOOKING TO TAKE STEPS -- SOME OF WHICH HIGHT BE POLITICALLY DIFFICULT -- TO ADVANCE THEIR RELATIONSHIP. U/S KIMMITT STATED THAT THE BALL WAS NOT IN THE U.S. COURT BUT RATHER AT MID-COURT. LIU STATED THAT CHINA WOULD DO THE MOST IT COULD WITHOUT SACRIFICING ITS PRINCIPLES.

54. MR. KIMMITT INVITED VFM LIU TO VISIT WASHINGTON AT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE TIME. LIU REPLIED THAT, DEPENDING ON THE PROGRESS ON THE MFN ISSUE, HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO CONSIDER THE INVITATION. PASCOL

PAGE 01 BEIJIN 13790 11 OF 11 130605Z INFO: P(01) SS(10)

NOD397

EXSEC DEPEXSEC

(S/S~I) DATE/TIME

REPEATED TO

BY

DATE/TIME

THE ATTACHED DOCUMENT MAY BE SEEN ONLY BY THE ADDRESSEE AND, IF NOT EXPRESSLY PRECLUDED, BY THOSE OFFICIALS UNDER HIS AUTHORITY WHOM HE